

98-84390-2

Miller, Marcus A.

“The root of all evil”
and 16 to 1

Rahway

1896

98-84390-2
MASTER NEGATIVE #

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DIVISION

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

ORIGINAL MATERIAL AS FILMED - EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD

332.41
Z Miller, Marcus A
v.11 "The root of all evil" and 16 to 1 ... Rahway,
Lawson, 1896.
48 p. 23 cm. (American financial educational
series. v. 1, no. 1)

Volume of pamphlets.

only Ed

RESTRICTIONS ON USE: Reproductions may not be made without permission from Columbia University Libraries.

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm

REDUCTION RATIO: 11:1

IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA ☒ IIA IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 4-6-98

INITIALS: BT

TRACKING #: 31260

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC IRREGULARITIES

MAIN ENTRY: Miller, Marcus A.

"The root of all evil" and 16 to 1

Bibliographic Irregularities in the Original Document:

List all volumes and pages affected; include name of institution if filming borrowed text.

Page(s) missing/not available:

Volume(s) missing/not available:

☒ Illegible and/or damaged page(s): [2], 7, 43, 46

Page(s) or volume(s) misnumbered:

Bound out of sequence:

☒ Page(s) or volume(s) filmed from copy borrowed from: Best Copy Available

Other:

Inserted material:

TRACKING#:_MSH31260

BEST COPY
AVAILABLE

22.5
93

Vol. 1.
No. 1.

THE AMERICAN FINANCIAL EDUCATIONAL SERIES.

September,
1896.

Issued Monthly. Subscription Price, \$1.00 per year.

Price 10 Cents

"The Root of all Evil" AND 16 to 1

LIBRARY OF

THE DEPARTMENT OF
SCHOOL OF THE
62 William St., New York

BY

M. A. MILLER

Author of "Gold or Silver"

E. A. LAWSON CO., RAHWAY, N. J.

CONTENTS

- I. Candid Judgment Demanded
- II. Money and Its Terms Defined—Questions, Answers,
and Simple Definitions
- III. Some of the Causes of Our Hard Times
- IV. How Would Free Silver Affect Me?
- V. Some of the Real Causes for Low Prices
- VI. Sentiment Invoked where Argument is Lacking
- VII. WHY J. PIERPONT MORGAN and Wall Street Become
Richer at the Expense of the Government
- VIII. A Robbery in Broad Daylight
- IX. Senator Stewart's Record as a "Gold Bug"

The Trade Supplied by

THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY

39-41 Chambers Street, New York

Entered at the Post Office, Rahway, N. J., as Second-class Matter.
COPYRIGHT, 1896, BY E. A. LAWSON.

THE PROPHETIC VISION OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

HOW HE FORETOLD WITH WONDERFUL ACCURACY THE DISASTERS THAT HAVE LATELY OVERTAKEN US—HIS FORECAST IN 1892 FROM THE VERY APEX OF OUR PROSPERITY.

I LOVE my country and my countrymen; I am an American and I rejoice every day that I am. I enjoy the general prosperity of my country, and I know that the workingmen of this country are the best paid, the best fed, and the best clothed of any laborer on the face of the earth. Many of them have homes of their own. They are surrounded by all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life. I shudder, however, at the thought that the time will come when all this will change, when the general prosperity of the country will be destroyed; when the workingmen in the land who are now so prosperous will hear their wives and children cry for bread; that the day must come when the great factories and manufactories of this land will shut down, and where are now life and activity there will be the silence of the tomb. And the reason why this must be so is this: The great Southern wing of the Democratic party is determined to establish the doctrine of free trade in this land. It will be assisted by Northern allies. There are many visionary but educated men who are employed day by day in writing free trade essays and arguments in favor of the doctrine, which find their way to every newspaper in the land.

The great body of our people has never experienced the sufferings which always result when protective principles are laid aside. In the very near future those forces which are now working will be strong enough to defeat at the polls the party advocating the doctrine of protection. The people will then see, as they have never seen before, that they cannot be prosperous and have work when the principle of protection is threatened. In the midst of their sufferings they will learn that the only way they can be prosperous and happy is to vote for the party that has built up the industry by which they have gained a livelihood, because they will then clearly see that when the manufactory is shut down there is no demand for the only thing which they have to sell, which is their labor.

"THE ROOT OF ALL EVIL."

"It is the perfection of civilization to differ in thought, but to be one in friendship."

CHAPTER I.

CANDID JUDGMENT DEMANDED.

AN affable gentleman from Denver registered at a New York hotel; the clerk, in conversation, said: "How is the 'free silver craze' in the West?" To which he replied: "There is a strong sentiment for free silver; our people think the Eastern 'gold bugs' have controlled this country long enough; we want fair-play." "Well, well; we will have to send someone out there to educate you," to which the guest observed, "We will have to send someone out here to educate *you*." Here were two sections of the country heard from; two sides to the question, and both men honest.

Each viewed the situation through his own glass and according to his best light, taking into consideration what he thought would be to his own personal interests, and to the interests of his people.

In discussing this matter we must first accord to others the same rights we claim for ourselves. It is unjust to say to your neighbor, "You are entirely wrong; you don't know 'a little bit,'" and egotistical to say, "We are entirely right; we know it all." "It's not calling your neighbor names that settles the question."

"It is the duty of the New York merchant and of the Boston banker" says the *Galveston News*, "to inform himself just why the West seems to be a unit for free silver, and to be able to answer arguments. It is vain to say that the free-silverites are fools and know not what they want. They are not fools and they know very well what they want, and it is only by understanding their claims and answering them that a true and accurate judgment of the Eastern position can be obtained."

We should all be searching for knowledge, searching for facts. "We need patriotism in times of peace, we need great men and great truths," not fine-spun theories and beautiful rhetoric. We want no "crown of thorns," but we might use a "cross of gold." It would make good money.

THE PROPHETIC VISION OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

HOW HE FORETOLD WITH WONDERFUL ACCURACY THE DISASTERS THAT HAVE LATELY OVERTAKEN US—HIS FORECAST IN 1892 FROM THE VERY APEX OF OUR PROSPERITY.

I LOVE my country and my countrymen; I am an American and I rejoice every day that I am. I enjoy the general prosperity of my country, and I know that the workingmen of this country are the best paid, the best fed, and the best clothed of any laborers on the face of the earth. Many of them have homes of their own. They are surrounded by all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life. I shudder, however, at the thought that the time will come when all this will change, when the general prosperity of the country will be destroyed; when the workingmen in the land who are now so prosperous will hear their wives and children cry for bread; that the day must come when the great factories and manufactories of this land will shut down, and where are now life and activity there will be the silence of the tomb. And the reason why this must be so is this: The great Southern wing of the Democratic party is determined to establish the doctrine of free trade in this land. It will be assisted by Northern allies. There are many visionary but educated men who are employed day by day in writing free trade essays and arguments in favor of the doctrine, which find their way to every newspaper in the land.

The great body of our people has never experienced the sufferings which always result when protective principles are laid aside. In the very near future those forces which are now working will be strong enough to defeat at the polls the party advocating the doctrine of protection. The people will then see, as they have never seen before, that they cannot be prosperous and have work when the principle of protection is threatened. In the midst of their sufferings they will learn that the only way they can be prosperous and happy is to vote for the party that has built up the industry by which they have gained a livelihood, because they will then clearly see that when the manufactory is shut down there is no demand for the only thing which they have to sell, which is their labor.

"THE ROOT OF ALL EVIL."

"It is the perfection of civilization to differ in thought, but to be one in friendship."

CHAPTER I.

CANDID JUDGMENT DEMANDED.

AN affable gentleman from Denver registered at a New York hotel; the clerk, in conversation, said: "How is the 'free silver craze' in the West?" To which he replied: "There is a strong sentiment for free silver; our people think the Eastern 'gold bugs' have controlled this country long enough; we want fair-play." "Well, well; we will have to send someone out there to educate you," to which the guest observed, "We will have to send someone out here to educate *you*." Here were two sections of the country heard from; two sides to the question, and both men honest.

Each viewed the situation through his own glass and according to his best light, taking into consideration what he thought would be to his own personal interests, and to the interests of his people.

In discussing this matter we must first accord to others the same rights we claim for ourselves. It is unjust to say to your neighbor, "You are entirely wrong; you don't know 'a little bit,'" and egotistical to say, "We are entirely right; we know it all." "It's not calling your neighbor names that settles the question."

"It is the duty of the New York merchant and of the Boston banker" says the *Galveston News*, "to inform himself just why the West seems to be a unit for free silver, and to be able to answer arguments. It is vain to say that the free-silverites are fools and know not what they want. They are not fools and they know very well what they want, and it is only by understanding their claims and answering them that a true and accurate judgment of the Eastern position can be obtained."

We should all be searching for knowledge, searching for facts. "We need patriotism in times of peace, we need great men and great truths," not fine-spun theories and beautiful rhetoric. We want no "crown of thorns," but we might use a "cross of gold." It would make good money.

We are confronted with two propositions that are entirely opposite to each other, and it is fair to presume that one of them is wrong. It is a time for sober, honest thought and discussion.

We are all equally interested in the outcome. There is no party or no class of people who are willfully contemplating National suicide, although it is plain that should the wrong sentiment prevail at the coming election, as it did four years ago—we will all have to suffer for the mistake that is made. This is a good time to adopt the immortal sentiments of Abraham Lincoln, "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God giveth us to see the right, let us press on."—Let us press on with our investigations and arm ourselves with facts and truths—"truth is mighty." History furnishes plenty of practical illustrations as to the use of gold and silver as primary money, from which we can ascertain facts concerning bimetalism, monometalism, free trade, and protection.

No civilized nation in times of peace has ever changed from a gold basis to a silver basis, without taking into consideration the relative commercial value of the metals;* if free silver will result in this, then its advocates are suggesting a leap in the dark. This admonishes us to "make haste slowly," and to weigh well what we are doing.

"There is room in this country for eight hundred million people, and for each one of them a home and livelihood," and yet in such a land of plenty we are in want: something is wrong. Our government is running at a loss while many of our people are spending their gold in Europe, and others are enjoying the sea breezes in their beautiful yachts and casting on the waves the remnants of their bountiful meals, which if in the hands of our worthy poor would relieve many a hungry stomach and revive many a fainting heart.

Not that the rich haven't the legal right to enjoy all the luxuries that they can buy, and that this money does not help the laborer, and that every broad-minded American does not like to see others enjoy themselves; but with their every want supplied they are too apt to become unmindful of others. It widens the chasm between the rich and the poor and causes a spirit of envy and anarchy that threatens the future welfare of this great republic. This is a hard question, but we are all brothers, and it is time even for the rich to

* Holland abolished the double standard in 1847 and adopted the silver standard; the change was based upon the relative value of the metals, in which case it worked no hardship. If we were to pass to a silver basis at a ratio of 31 to 1 we could stand it. In 1875 Holland returned to the double standard, having suspended the coinage of silver in 1873.

consider a solution.* The unfortunate understand only too well the meaning of Ella Wheeler Wilcox's prophetic verse:

"Laugh and the world laughs with you,
Weep and you weep alone."

There is without doubt a great inequality of brains; a great inequality of inheritances; a great inequality of opportunities; and a vast difference in health and surroundings, but all are members of one great family, and when we see an object of charity we should be able to say, "What would I do if I were in that fellow's place?"

"It is often a pleasure to think of our nation as being founded not only upon the cold doctrine of equal rights, but also upon the warmer idea of man's reverence for man. It is desirable that some man or some group of men shall amass money enough to construct our railroads or telegraphs, or to launch our steamships, or conduct our large public works, but it is as truly a law of nature that the majority of the earth's people must find their happiness in that natural law of riches, called contentment."

Some misinformed people, to correct the existing evils, banded themselves together, and under the leadership of Coxey, marched to Washington; sore-footed and hungry they returned, but without bringing prosperity.

The gold reserve dwindles and is replenished from time to time by the issue of bonds or the help of capitalists. What causes this is a question for consideration; it has not occurred before since the war, and this is the same country, only richer. Is it not clear to any fair-minded person that there have been recent legislative blunders, or that a sentiment prevails toward bad legislation? If we are confronted with effects there must be causes; not causes twenty-five or six years old, but of the present hour.

There are many elements that enter into our troubles, and we are called upon at the coming election to vote on an issue the most important of any since the Civil War. Let us be prepared to vote intelligently.

This series of pamphlets purposes to deal with the situation as it is, and to point out some of the causes. We shall "Hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may."

* Anarchy is the child of jealousy and envy, born of one and cherished and sustained by the other. I have positively known some millionaires who were good fellows. If any country gets sick of those it has I hope it will send them here; we have room for more, and lots of room in our harbors for their yachts, and plenty of sailors to man them; we have lots of air and water, and they can't eat or wear their money. I am proud of a country whose soil is rich enough to raise millionaires. I want to become one myself, but should I fail, after seeing so many around me who have grown rich in the same garden, it would be unjust for me to blame the principles of my country for it. I am sure they haven't any of my money.

Both sides have views, both sides have rights; a candid discussion will surely result in much good; practical, patriotic suggestions are required. A spirit of investigation is demanded. Properly understood, we need have no fears of the result in November.

The decision will be the honest judgment of our people. They should make a study of the issues. The American people when aroused are equal to any emergency, and as Lincoln said, "Their decision is right."

"A nation, like an individual, has its hours of ill health; days when the heart fears that it may be on the border of death. But as only centuries can make a great nation live so nothing but long illness can make it die."

"Capital is nothing until labor takes hold of it; a bag will hold money, but a bag cannot transform that money into an iron road, a train of cars, or an engine."

BASIS OF ARGUMENTS.

Labor is the only true primary measure of value, fluctuating with supply and demand. The value of money is measured by labor; the value of the dollar is what it costs to produce it. Money is a medium of exchange. Realities and improvements are the wealth of the country.

CHAPTER II.

MONEY AND ITS TERMS DEFINED—QUESTIONS, ANSWERS, AND SIMPLE DEFINITIONS.

"We must understand the rudiments to think and talk intelligently."

1. Q. What is the true meaning of primary money?

A. Money that is made of something of intrinsic value—made of metal, the value of which is established by the cost of production, and supply and demand.

Labor is the principal cost in producing it, therefore labor is the principal element in measuring its value. The Government's stamp legalizes its use as money, but it does not add anything to its real value. It simply says it is proper weight and fineness to represent the value stamped upon it. Primary money is only worth what it weighs; there is no legal tender value or fiat attached to it, its real worth being established by its purchasing power. The principal office of this kind of money is that of a rating standard, although it may itself be used as money. The currency of a country can be anything the Government elects and legalizes; such money passes as the proxy of primary money, and is known as token

money. It is redeemable on demand in the nation's standard primary money, therefore passes current in the country of issue possessing the same purchasing power as the real metal it represents, and is usually preferred as a medium of exchange.

2. Q. What is meant by token or representative money?

A. Money that passes on the credit and by the stamp of the Government. Its value is established by the promise of the Government to redeem it in its primary money, and maintained by the nation's ability to do so.

NOTE.—All paper money is token money in the full meaning of the term. Silver, nickel, and copper are not token money in the same sense, since they possess an intrinsic value and are worth what they weigh melted; however, their use to-day is on the basis of representative money, all as good as gold because their purchasing power is maintained on a parity with gold.

3. Q. What is meant by bimetalism as applied to coinage?

A. This is a new word and cannot be found in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary; however, most people accept it as meaning "bi"—two—"metallism"—metals. Two metals as money. This is not the true meaning of the term; in short, bimetalism means the use of two metals as primary money, metals coined at their relative values and circulating at a fixed ratio.

The Century Dictionary defines it as follows:

"Bimetalism pertains to the use of two metals as primary money at relative values set by legislative enactments; the union of two metals in circulation as money at a fixed rate. Specifically that system of coinage which recognizes both coins of silver and coins of gold as legal tender to any amount, or the concurrent use of coins of two metals as a circulating medium at a fixed relative value."

This is what the free silver advocates demand; they disregard the relative commercial values, natural laws, and the historical fact that no two metals ever circulated as primary money at a fixed ratio of value for any length of time.

England struggled for years to sustain bimetalism. An attempt was made in the reign of James I., and the ratio was fixed at 13 to 1. Supply and demand changed the ratio, in consequence of which silver was exported. In 1614 the king ordered exportations to cease, but the people did as they liked with their own property. Proclamation after proclamation was issued against exportation, but they were ineffective. There was a great speculation in the realm's money at the expense of the people; they hoarded the undervalued metal or melted it down and sold it as bullion. Troubles of this kind have always prevailed under any attempt to maintain the metals at a parity. Nicholas Oresme at

one time was appointed by the king to investigate the subject and report. His report was:

"That the legal ratio of coins must conform strictly to the relative market value of the metals; that if the fixed legal ratio of coins differs from their market value the one which is undervalued entirely disappears from circulation, and the baser coin alone remains current to the ruin of commerce."

Later Copernicus was appointed by the King of Poland for the same object; he arrived at identically the same conclusions.

Sir Thomas Gresham, a London merchant and founder of the Royal Exchange and Gresham College, whose advice was always authority on matters of finance, discovered the same great fundamental natural law* which still bears his name, and is known as "Gresham's Law," viz.:

"That no two metals of intrinsic value could circulate side by side as primary money at a parity."

His reasons were substantially the same as given by Oresme.

A pamphlet issued in 1696 on this subject expresses it as follows:

"When two sorts of coin are current in the same nation, of like value by denomination, but not intrinsically—*i. e.*, in market value—that which has the least value will be current, and the other, as much as possible, will be hoarded or melted down or exported."

In 1717 Sir Isaac Newton, master of the British mint, recommended a reduction in the weight of the guinea; this failed to make the two metals circulate at a parity. Commercial value regulated by supply and demand and the fluctuation in production paid no attention to statutes. They even resorted to punishment and imposed fines, but to no avail; the undervalued metal was hoarded or went into the melting pot and was sold for bullion. We and all other countries who have tried to maintain bimetalism have failed on account of the Gresham-Oresme-Copernicus law as described above.

The "Gresham law" is as much a natural and positive law as Newton's laws of gravity.

To coin two metals as primary money at a parity, it must be done at their relative values as commodities; to maintain this parity the production and cost of production must continue in the same ratio. If you had in your pocket two pieces of money each stamped one dollar, and the supply and demand made one of them worth one dollar and five cents as compared with the other, which one would you use to discharge your obligations?

* Neither of these three had any record of what either of the others had done; neither did they know of their investigations or reports.

THE ONLY PRACTICAL WAY TO COIN BOTH METALS

Is to accept a broader meaning of the term "bimetalism," and coin the two metals, gold and silver, as we do to-day, and as all countries do where they both pass current. The one used as a rating standard, and the other on a maintained value backed by the other, the better metal. The government purchasing the cheaper according to its requirements and coining it on government account, carrying the seigniorage or profit in the cheaper. This is the only system that has been advocated by any statesman of any account for many years, in spite of all statements to the contrary. The true meaning of bimetalism is quite generally misunderstood. Many think our position bimetallic to-day, and because a silver dollar passes for one hundred cents, and buys as much as gold, they do not see why the free silver dollar would not do the same.

4. Q. Is our position bimetallic?

A. No. We use the two metals as money, but silver on a maintained value. Our silver now passes current in this country and buys as much as gold, because our government maintains a heavy gold reserve, and, by its acts, says "All our dollars are good dollars, good as gold because interchangeable with gold. We will not discriminate against any of our currency; we will accept any of it in payment for obligations due us."*

5. Q. What is meant by monometalism?

A. It means the use of one metal as primary money, as a standard of value.

6. Q. Will our gold and silver pass in foreign countries?

A. Yes, by weight at their bullion value.

7. Q. Was this country ever on a bimetallic basis?

A. From 1792 to 1834 our laws permitted the coinage of both metals at a ratio of 15 to 1, but almost no gold was coined or in circulation after 1812. Gold was undervalued by statute and the "Gresham law" took charge of it. In 1834 the ratio was changed to 16 to 1; by this ratio silver was undervalued, and consequently took a vacation. In practice we have been on a gold monometallic basis since 1834. The law of 1873 legalized what had been our practice for thirty-nine years.

8. Q. Can statutes create the values of money metals?

A. No. No more than they can upon other commodities.

9. Q. What is seigniorage?

A. "An ancient prerogative of the English crown whereby it

* Exceptions: "United States Notes" are not accepted in payment for duties on imports or for interest on the public debt. "National bank notes" are receivable for all public dues, except duties on imports.

claimed a percentage upon every ingot of gold or silver brought to the mint to be coined. Hence, in such cases, a toll for coinage. In commercial law, the profit derived from issuing coins at a rate above their intrinsic value. When fifty cents' worth of silver is made into one dollar, the seignorage is fifty cents."

10. Q. What is meant by demonetization?

A. To deprive a money metal of its legal right to be coined as primary money.

11. Q. What is meant by subsidiary coins?

A. Coins made for small change; denominations less than the unit; less than one dollar.

12. Q. Explain clearly the meaning of "free coinage of silver at 16 to 1."

A. "It means that 16 ounces of silver shall have the same debt-paying power in this country as 1 ounce of gold." It means the coining of money metals in relative sizes 16 times as much in one as in the other. This ratio was established by statute in 1834, taking into consideration the relative commercial values of the two metals in the markets of the world at that time. It means further, that anyone having gold or silver bullion can, at their will, have the Government coin it into money, standard size and standard fineness, with the Government's stamp of value upon it, whether it wants to or not.

NOTE.—There have been a great many ratios established at different times all on a basis of commercial values. In 1792 when our first coinage laws were established the ratio was fixed at 15 to 1.

At one time in England the metals were coined at a ratio of 6 to 1; in the twelfth century, at 9 to 1; in about the fifteenth century, $10\frac{2}{3}$ to 1. In the reign of James I., an attempt was made to fix the arbitrary ratio of 13 to 1, the results of which were disastrous to the kingdom, and produced general distress among the working people. The next statistics show the ratio to have been accepted as 14 to 1. The ratio in commercial value to-day is about 31 to 1.

13. Q. Has the quantity of gold increased as rapidly as the population since 1873?

A. Much faster, and it has fallen in value, since it takes more to buy a day's work to-day than it did then, based upon the average of wages. The rates of interest are lower, which is another proof that it has not appreciated.

14. Q. Can the value of primary money be established by legislation?

A. No. You can say by statutes that a certain amount of silver shall be called one dollar, but its real value will be determined by the purchasing power it possesses in the open markets of the world.

NOTE.—Could the Government establish the value on wheat? Everybody will agree that they could not. They might by statute make 16 quarts a bushel, in which case everyone would understand that the new bushel would only make half as much bread. The office (real value) of wheat is to sustain life, the value (office) of money is its purchasing power.

15. Q. Have the debts of the world anything to do with the money of the world?

A. No. "They will all be paid by the crops and products of the future, by the cattle and hogs yet unborn, and by the coal and iron yet in the bowels of the earth."

Money is more often used to rate exchanges than in any other way. The merchant in Boston says his shoes are worth — dollars, and the farmer in Kansas says his wheat is worth — dollars; the terms are agreed upon, and they "swap" commodities, each one sending his check; and the cross charges are made through the banks, the difference or balance only being actually paid in money.

16. Q. WHAT DOES THE "POPO-DEMOCRATIC" PLATFORM ADVOCATE IN REGARD TO SILVER? IN OTHER WORDS, WHAT DO THEY PROPOSE TO DO?

A. They propose to disregard the laws of supply and demand entirely; they purpose to pay no attention to past experiences of this, or other nations; they purpose to say that a mine-owner can have the Government coin his products into poor dollars, and that the farmers and laborers of this country must accept them for wheat, or for services rendered; they purpose to say by an arbitrary law that 16 ounces of silver is worth as much as 1 ounce of gold. Why they stop at this ratio, I cannot understand. They could just as well say by statute—it would cost no more for printing—that 16 ounces of silver is worth as much as 16 ounces of gold. Natural laws would pay as much attention to one proposition as to the other.

A fraction of one per cent. of difference in their commercial values would cause the one of the least actual value only to be current as money; the undervalued coin by denomination disappearing from circulation. The coin of less value always becomes the standard of measure, and the better money is said to be at a premium. Their proposition positively means silver monometallism. Thus all of our values would be measured by the value of the silver in the silver dollar; the meaning of the word dollar would be changed.

"Many people innocently imagine that the free coinage of silver is simply a proposition to open our mints more freely to silver, and to maintain our money at its present standard of value on the gold basis, and that by adopting free coinage, we are not going to debase and lower the value of our money, but raise the price

of silver all over the world to a 16 to 1 ratio with gold. There could be no greater mistake. They fail to see that it also involves a change in our unit, standard, or measure of value. If the proposition was that the United States should give a gold dollar for 371 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver brought to the mints, then that would really be an attempt on the part of our Government to raise the price of silver; and how long we could raise it would depend on how much silver there was in the world, and how much gold we had.*

"Our hope for our country may rest upon the fact that its vices and errors have not become great enough to reach out and stop the wheels of education, religion, and the industry of its millions."

CHAPTER III.

SOME OF THE CAUSES FOR OUR HARD TIMES.

AN honest theory for the present depression demands discussion. If wrong, it should be successfully contradicted; if right, it should help those who are groping in the dark. The following is offered in this spirit.

It is easy to assert that the cause for hard times was the demonetization of silver in 1873, but hard to prove it. It is true, however, that "Our nation stands to-day impeded by its unsolved problems."

Coxey's army did not accomplish any good, and much harm came from their misguided efforts. It advertised to the world what the leadership of a demagogue could do, and how easy it is to lead some of the American people astray. If any of our silver friends think demonetization of silver responsible for our present troubles; think that a mistake was made in 1873 by the United States, and a little later by nearly the whole civilized world, they should be very careful not to make a worse mistake in November next. "Coxeyites" are very strong "silverites." If demonetization of silver in '73 is responsible for our troubles since '93, more than twenty years afterward, why should we not with just as much reason credit all the good times up to 1893 to the same cause?†

If I were to say anything about the advocates of free silver, I would say that they are "short on facts and long on theories."

* From "The Silver Question in a Nutshell."

† President Harrison in his annual message, December, 1892, said: "I have great satisfaction in being able to say that the general conditions affecting the commercial and industrial interests of the United States are in the highest degree favorable. A comparison of the existing conditions with those of the most favored period in the history of the country will, I believe, show that so high a degree of prosperity and so general a diffusion of the comforts of life were never before enjoyed by our people."

This simply expressed the facts of that time, and no one disputed them.

It is the question of standards, and a provision for government as well as individual income, that confronts us to-day and paralyzes business, not the requirement for the government to manufacture more money. It is the discarding of the first law of nature, which is "self-preservation," self-protection, and substituting the Wilson bill, "a tariff for revenue only," and the possibility that our people will in the near future vote for a short dollar and free trade.

"The government, like an individual, must run its affairs on business principles, must look to the interests of its own people. No law which creates every month a deficiency can be regarded as a success.

"The credit of the government, like that of the individual citizen, is best subserved by living within its means and providing means with which to live," and when the credit of the government suffers we all suffer.

Two hundred and thirty-one cubic inches make a gallon: if you were manufacturing something that sold by the gallon, and there was a possibility that the future gallon would contain less cubic inches, would you not wait until the new standard gallon was established before you manufactured any surplus? This is just what the people of the United States are doing to-day; the standard gallon is established, as is also the number of units in the dozen, but the future rating standard of our dollar is in doubt. The ship of commerce is cast upon the sea of uncertainty, and nothing is so detrimental to business as uncertainty.

Many of our laborers are out of employment on account of importing goods from abroad. Our business men very naturally buy goods in the cheapest markets. Foreign agents, especially English agents, are with us, and if we were to look to that country which is so hated by some of the "silverites," we would see among its workmen the greatest prosperity they have known for years.

Since the enactment of the Wilson bill they have been manufacturing goods for us, goods that should have been manufactured here. The American laborers should note the marked difference in the reception of the late J. G. Blaine in England to that of Wilson, the framer of the Wilson bill. Wilson is loved in England; Blaine was loved in America and feared by England. One advocated keeping the American markets for the products of American labor, the other framed a bill that opened our markets for the products of foreign labor; the result of one policy is to export gold to pay for merchandise imported, the result of the Blaine policy was to keep our gold and to trade merchandise.

We are confronted with the two propositions in the Democratic platform this fall, "Free and unlimited coinage of silver, and a tariff

for revenue only." The first means a change of our measure of value, the second means free trade. The platform of the other party advocates sustaining the present standard of value and returning to a protective tariff. What was the condition of the country for many years under a protective tariff? What is it now?

Secretary Stanton once asked Abraham Lincoln what he thought of a protective tariff. Mr. Lincoln replied, "I don't know much about the tariff, but I do know that if my wife buys her cloak in America we get the money and the cloak, and that American labor is paid for producing it; if she buys her cloak abroad we get only the cloak, the other country gets the money, and foreign labor receives the benefit."

OTHER REASONS.

There are other economic reasons for hard times. To understand how business has been done in this country for the last few years, attempt to take the last boat from Coney Island on a Saturday night: the jam will clearly demonstrate the selfishness of mankind, and show you how everyone tramples on others to make way for himself. You never hear the words "Excuse me!" This is as true in the commercial world, and was better illustrated by Bellamy's stage coach where everyone was climbing for the top, and when there hung on for dear life to keep from being crowded off. Very often, however, one fell to the bottom, only to be forced into the traces to help draw the others.

There has been during recent years an extremely congested state of business. With our great and promising prosperity an extremely speculative disposition has taken hold of the general public; all have been madly rushing for the top of the coach; they have even attempted to reach it at one bound, and have often fallen back with a sickening thud; those who have had to again assume the labors of drawing the load have become balky, the result of which has been strikes and disaster.

When we were building railroads connecting the Pacific with the Atlantic, and the North with the South, the demand for labor and the profitable investment of capital was almost unlimited, but when the demand for this was supplied we had to look for new fields to conquer. The building of cities and villages all along these railroads for some time afterward employed the surplus labor, but it was carried to excess. An army of boomers backed by Eastern and foreign capital filled these newly made cities, and each rented an office and furnished it with a few chairs and a table and with "wheels-in-his-head schemes," stuck out his sign "Real Estate and

Loans," and, when he didn't find anything to loan his borrowed money on, he laid out a new addition to the already boomed city, and attempted to turn somebody's cow pasture into brick blocks. Many farmers left their farms to mingle in the "giddy swim." I once heard of a Western farmer who visited a neighboring city to trade his farm for city lots; he was driven out and shown what the real estate man told him was excellent city property, and when asked where his farm was he replied, "We passed that some time ago."

Most of this business was done on credit; bought to-day on credit, sold to-morrow at an increased valuation, on credit again. Capital flowed from the East to the West; everybody was rich upon inflated valuations, but the bubble burst, the result of which has much to do with the condition of times to-day. All booms have a reaction; the boomed valuation of silver under the Sherman law dropped steadily from about ninety cents to about fifty. That old, inevitable natural law of supply and demand came to the front and said, "What have the notions of mankind, statutes, to do with valuations; I control them," and with a hand of magic leveled the value of silver, with its production and cost of production.

Foreigners heard of our prosperity, and every ship from abroad brought immigrants, mechanics and laborers of all kinds, every one after a job; and supply and demand again were called in and the price of labor leveled accordingly. All of this since 1873, since the demonetization of silver. We have had prosperity that has made all countries envious; prosperity that has made them leave their homes to become Americans, and then we are told that demonetization in '73 is responsible for the troubles since 1893.

So many elements have entered into the conditions that now confront us that no one but a demagogue who wanders in oratorical flights, amid the rhythms of sound, would attempt to-day to lay all our difficulties to one cause, or say to the ones who have and are paying labor good dollars, "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns—you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

The Sherman law was a limited free-silver measure, made to satisfy the West and to prevent an absolute free-silver bill. It drove out of our treasury in about four years over \$260,000,000 of gold; it drove over \$500,000,000 foreign capital, gold, out of the country; it has caused a heavy loss for the Government upon the shrinkage of the value in the silver purchased under this act, lying idly in our vaults at Washington; it destroyed our foreign creditors' confidence in us, who said, "The United States are diluting their money; they are attempting impossibilities; they cannot continue

to maintain the parity of the purchasing power of silver with that of gold when they are buying so much; they are surely going on a silver basis, and we want our money while it can be had in the metal against which legislation has no effect." In the face of all this we are told that we want freer silver.

Every ship from abroad brought American securities for sale, and every ship leaving our ports carried gold for ballast. The change of administration, with the promised change of policy, was another thing that forced itself upon us just at a time when we had troubles enough. The promised policy of this administration was to tear down the well-tried policy of protection and reciprocity, the works of James G. Blaine, and to put in its place that policy which says, "We don't care for American laborers, we have nothing but a selfish motive; all we want is 'a tariff for revenue only,' and a chance to buy our own goods in the cheapest markets." How well they have done this everybody knows; its results are only too apparent from the idle factories and hungry and unemployed laborers. "It never rains but it pours." Theoretical economists and interested mine-owners launched their free-silver scheme, which doubled the dose of poison from which the patient was suffering. As a matter of fact, we should all be proud of a country that could stand up under all these troubles as well as this has. The crisis was precipitated by these changes; many were not in condition to stand it; our banks in self-protection called upon our business men for what was due them; commercial paper could not be renewed; it became a period of liquidation, reaching from the Government down to the individual, and from the boomed West to the conservative East, and it has resulted in bringing from the dark closets many skeletons and worthless securities. Labor has been poorly employed, which has caused an "under consumption" of products. The balance of trade has been against us, even the products of the poor paid labor of Japan, under the Wilson bill, have been allowed to compete with the laborers of America. Mongolian products have taken the place of the Caucasians'. The trouble is not a lack of money but a lack of employment for it; we have seen very prosperous times when there was less money *per capita* than there is to-day; and how, if the Government should be compelled to coin the "Silver Bugs" silver, the farmer or laborer could expect to get any more money of his own, I have never had explained to me.

Free coinage does not mean free distribution. Money only becomes ours for a consideration; we get it "by the sweat of our brows"; if this money were silver, passing on its "own shape," fineness, and value the supply would have to be doubled to equal in value or purchasing power any of the money we have to-day. The

American people will not try any more experiments; they have learned a severe lesson, they will return the reins of government in November to the party which has always conducted national affairs on sound business principles; having learned from the bitter experiences of the past few years that theories and promises don't buy bread or "make hair grow upon bald heads."

"There have been a great many battles fought against gold, and gold has won every time. . . . Do not let us try to deceive the American people; do not let us try to make them believe, by some hocus-pocus process of legislation, that we can give them something of real value; we can give them a measure of value that is better than the universal standard of mankind."—*Senator W. M. Stewart of Nevada.*

CHAPTER IV.

HOW WOULD FREE SILVER AFFECT ME?—HOW WOULD IT AFFECT MY COUNTRY?

EVERYBODY should take this question right at home and consider it from the standpoint of personal interest. The silver movement originated with the Western mine-owners. They are responsible for launching this boom, and we believe that they did it from selfish motives. At first their followers were few, but they have taken advantage of every point to make converts; they have taken advantage of this depression and asserted that all troubles have come from the demonetization of silver.

Many honest and well-meaning people have accepted their theories, being only too willing to accept anything that promised relief. In its infancy it was a geographical question, with only those of the West who were personally interested in silver mines for its leaders. When there was a market for all the silver that was produced at a good price, nobody ever heard of a "silverite." Even Senator Stewart of Nevada, who is now one of the strongest silver advocates and supreme president of "The Order of the Silver Knights of America," was once a strong advocate of the gold standard, as is shown by his speeches in Congress, extracts from which may be found in another part of this pamphlet, and are used for as good gold arguments as can be produced to-day. Senator Stewart is an able man, and when he was talking from the heart he said good things. He is now said to be interested in the production of silver and is possibly talking from selfish motives. Strange but true—"we are all of us more or less influenced by our own financial interests."

There are other politicians who live in free-silver districts where their constituents demand that they teach their doctrines, and as they have high political aspirations, personal interests, and not the courage to try to correct this evil, they are voicing the sentiments of those who vote, talking for votes, making speeches to the galleries.

In conversation with the editor of a country newspaper the other day he remarked: "I am a gold man 'from the top of my head to the soles of my feet'; I have always believed in the gold standard, but I am running a Democratic paper out in Missouri, and nine out of ten of my subscribers are rampant silver men; if I don't favor free silver, I will lose more than half of my subscribers, and I depend upon the circulation of my paper for my daily bread. What can I do?"

His paper is now advocating free silver.

These instances only show why some people have a change of heart, and are affected by what will afford only temporary results. The mine-owner under free silver could only get an increased or inflated price for his silver for a short time. It would so stimulate production that the price would be reduced beyond any estimate. The politician is simply attempting to ride on the tide, and hoping that his constituents who pass through the wreck with him will stand by him in the future. The editor, with his hands on the pulse of his subscribers, believes that he will know when to change the policy of his paper; but now let us look at our own interests. We do not come under any of the above heads. "What effect would silver have upon me?"

To understand this we must determine clearly in our own minds the effect free coinage would have upon the value of our dollar. If it would give everybody more good money and raise the value of the silver in a dollar, so it would be worth as much as a gold dollar and maintain that value, then we should all be in favor of free coinage. If, on the other hand, it would not give everybody more good money, but would reduce the value of our dollar, the same as it has done in Mexico and all free-coinage countries, to the value of the silver dollar, making the word dollar mean another thing, "a short dollar," and thus reduce the value of all our life insurance policies, of all our saving-bank deposits, etc., about one-half, then we should be against free coinage.

More than "16 to 1" of our best statesmen, best financiers, and bankers, throughout the length and breadth of this land are gold men, and the seventeenth is a silver man, because he has an "ax to grind." They will not only tell you that it will result in the cheapening of our dollar, but they will also tell you that it will result in driv-

ing all of our gold out of circulation and place us absolutely upon a silver monometallic basis. They will tell you farther that it will result in a contraction of our circulating medium by the loss of all our gold and by the discount in the value of our new dollar. If we will only stop and consider the question ourselves, we can readily see why this would be true. History will show us that no two metals were ever coined at a parity and maintained at a parity. All countries have tried it and have failed in every instance. The cheaper metal always circulates as money at its face value, and the other goes to a premium and out of circulation. To understand this better, we should say that the poorer dollar passes at a discount instead of saying that the better dollar has gone to a premium. The gold dollar fluctuates but little, and for that reason it is the better metal to rate our standards by; when we accept a dollar rated by gold we know just what it is worth and what it will buy. It's alike good in the hands of the rich and the poor, and is accepted in any market of the world without discount.

Twenty-three and two-tenths grains of gold will buy a hundred cents' worth of anything, anywhere, without the stamp of the Government; its purchasing power is determined on the scales. Three hundred and seventy-one and one-fourth grains of silver will only buy about fifty cents' worth of products when the stamp of the Government is erased, in this country or any other.

"HOW WOULD FREE SILVER AFFECT ME?"

I am working for \$100 a month; under free silver the prices of everything I eat, wear, and use, would go up to correspond with the depreciated dollar, and how am I going to get any more dollars? My wages would be the last thing to be raised. *The stock markets and boards of trade would at once list the prices of merchandise, but the poor laborer's wages are not on the boards.* The Labor Union I belong to has never been very successful in raising wages.

I have \$500 in the savings bank for "a rainy day"; there is nothing said in my bank book about its being returned in "gold or its equivalent"; although I noticed such a clause in the lease I signed with my landlord the other day; so, under free coinage, the bank could pay me in fifty-cent dollars, with purchasing power of only one-half of that deposited with them.

I have a thousand dollars in a Building and Loan Association. This could be returned to me in the same cheap dollars. I have two thousand dollars paid up life insurance to protect my family in case of death; this, too, is subject to the same discount, if the "Popo-Democratic" ticket should win in November.

I am thinking of going into business next year, and if I do I shall have to borrow money. Under free coinage and "short dollars" it would take about twice as many as it would in dollars on the present standard. Will the rates of interest go down by that difference? No. I should think bankers under this proposition would want free coinage; they could loan more dollars; but when you come to take the second thought they look a great ways ahead and see that the general results would be bad.

These questions, when brought right home to us, should set us thinking, should cause us to investigate. If we were sick we would employ a physician; if we had a case in court we would employ a lawyer; why not, for the same reason, accept the advice of a good financier upon money matters? They are not interested in wrecking the country. The government policy that protects the interests of the richest man in the world protects the interest of the poorest as well. Bankers do not want to make hard times. Would the farmer poison the soil in which he sows his seed? On the contrary he would give it fertilizer.

Our common people are the gardens that grow all the flowers of prosperity; it is especially to the interest of the capitalist that the country be prosperous. Would the money power "kill the goose that lays the golden egg"? No, it must have prosperous people to whom to loan its money.

Our times need lessons in patriotism, need patriots and statesmen, not politicians and demagogues. The demagogue often creates sentiment and causes troubles that rest heavily upon the poor. You will doubtless hear from their platform how the rich are working against the poor, and that it is to their interest to keep times hard and squeeze the life's blood out of the people.

If someone will explain to me how this can be done when there is no blood there, I will know how to collect some poor bills long past due.

A demagogue is a man who uses words freely, but facts carelessly; when you hear one talk, if interested in the subject, look up his statistics.

HOW WOULD FREE COINAGE AFFECT MY COUNTRY?

I like to use these words, "my country." There is something inspiring about them. I will protect my country and its interests to the best of my ability. So it becomes necessary for me and all true Americans at this time to carefully weigh this great question before casting our votes in November. We have a great duty to perform. Here is what Daniel Webster said about the issue that now confronts us:

"There are some political evils which are seen as soon as they are dangerous, and which alarm at once as well the people as the Government. Wars and invasions, therefore, are not always the most certain destroyers of national prosperity. They come in no questionable shape. They announce their own approach, and the general security is preserved by the general alarm. Not so with the evils of a debased coin, a depreciated paper currency, or a depressed and falling public credit. These insinuate themselves in the shape of facilities, accommodation, and relief. They hold out the most fallacious hope of an easy payment of debts and a lighter burden of taxation."

And Alexander Hamilton said this:

"There is scarcely any point in the economy of national affairs of greater moment than the uniform preservation of the intrinsic value of the money unit. On this the security and steady value of property essentially depends."

The first result upon this country would be that of placing it on the "black list" by the rest of the world; we would at once be classed with half-civilized free silver countries, and the commercial result would be much like that of the individual results already described.

The Government would not attempt, nor could it maintain, the value of our dollars on a gold basis; there would be a grand rush on the United States treasury for the gold; this would cause at once the suspension of specie payment, or to be better understood it would be much like placing the United States treasury in the hands of a receiver; it could not pay all the obligations in gold, and consequently would have to take this method in order to be fair to everybody.

Russia is on a silver basis and she suspended specie payment in 1855, and has not yet resumed. It is asserted on good authority that she is now preparing to go to a gold basis.

The general results can hardly be pictured, they would be so far-reaching and disastrous. We would have to pay for all imports at the rate of two dollars for one as compared with our present dollar, and the simple express charges on handling the amount of silver to do this would be a big item. The general outcome of free coinage cannot be better described than Dr. Wm. Preston Hill* expresses it in his pamphlet, so I give his words here:

"Suppose that a free silver President and Congress, pledged to carry out this policy, were elected in November, 1896. We must recollect that they would not go into power and could not enforce the new basis until March, 1897. Can anybody believe that the very next morning after the election there would not begin a mad scramble to get what little gold was left in the treasury; that everybody would not rush upon his bank to get out his money while it was still payable in money of the present standard; that the gold would not be hoarded waiting for a premium and go entirely out of circulation?

*Author of "The Silver Question in a Nutshell," St. Louis, Mo.

"There would ensue a universal lack of confidence, a run on every bank in the country. The banks would be forced to close their doors and liquidate, and enforce the payment of all money due to them, and thus force every business man to 'he wall.

"Everybody would try to get all existing obligations closed before the change to the new standard and to sell every security likely to be affected by the change before it became depreciated.

"All our manufacturing industries would be forced to close their doors, to wait for the new order of things, because they could not manufacture products which would soon have to meet the competition of free-silver wages.

"We have here all the elements of a panic more widespread and disastrous than any this country has ever had; and I feel sure that the actual loss in wealth to the country due to the universal cessation of industry, stagnation of business, and entire loss of confidence in the future would greatly exceed our entire national debt. In the midst of this panic those who had a debt falling due would be more injured than anybody else, because they would find it impossible either to renew their loan or to get money to pay it, and they would be sold out. The effect upon this country would be the same as the effect upon a bank which should post upon its doors the notice, 'Next spring this bank will pay only fifty cents upon the dollar.' Nobody need be told that the creditors of that bank would not wait till next spring to place it into the hands of a receiver."

"What does all this talk about 16 to 1 free silver mean?"

"It means that if free silver wins," said the long-haired individual, "you can take a gold dollar to the bank and get sixteen silver dollars for it."

"No," answered his friend, "if free silver wins sixteen men out of seventeen will be out of a job."

"It would be as easy to legislate a man into the kingdom of heaven as to change the laws of supply and demand by legislation, as the 'silverites' propose."

TAKE silver, for example; the world's product of silver, 1871-75, five years covering the period when it was demonetized, was \$409,322,000, and in 1891-95, five years, \$1,033,004,200. During the first period smelting charges were about \$35 per ton on \$100 ore, twenty per cent. discount for loss, and excessive freight rates, which left the miner only about \$20 per ton net. During the latter period smelting charges were reduced to about \$10 per ton, discount for loss about five per cent., freight about \$5 per ton, thus leaving the miner \$80 net, so you see it was not all caused by demonetization. An increase in production of about one hundred and fifty per cent., and a decrease in the cost of production of sixty

per cent., consequently a corresponding decrease in value. Is it strange that the silver mine owners want to furnish a "silver lining" for this cloud at \$1.29 per ounce, and that they want to buy the farmer's wheat with silver dollars?

In 1891 the world's product of wheat was 433,000,000 bushels; in 1894 the product of wheat was 2,645,000,000 bushels. The raising of wheat used to be an agricultural pursuit, but in later years it would come more under the head of manufacturing by improved machinery. McCormick and Osborn have made the reapers, and the farmers have ridden on the spring seats, while the automatic rakes were gathering in the sheaves.

Wheat was once threshed by hand, but now by machinery. We formerly exported our wheat; lately the agricultural implement machinery companies have become the exporters, shipping their improved reapers abroad, and foreign countries have gone to producing wheat by machinery. The increased acreage results in increased production, and the increased facilities of transportation have greatly reduced the price of acquiring the grain. In 1875 there were 26,381,512 acres of wheat grown in this country; in 1891 there were over 39,000,000 acres cultivated, an increase of fifty per cent. In other countries the increase has been fully as much in proportion, and other crops have shown as great a gain. *This is the result of free coinage of wheat and agricultural products.*

What has Bryan's "cross of gold" to do with the price of silver or wheat? What has it to do with the bicycle business?

During the past few years everybody has gone to manufacturing bicycles, and everyone who could make the first payment has run in debt for a wheel. They are now wearing William's "crown of thorns," and, possibly, their creditors are "pressing it down." In passing through our principal cities you will see such signs as these, "Receiver's Sale of Bicycles," "Bicycles at Auction," etc. When you run against that old natural law of supply and demand, it soon takes charge of your business and prices. When you produce, and disregard this natural law, but one result, that of reduced prices, follows.

There are many other examples that might be given here, and in each case you would have no trouble in finding why prices are lower. Free silver advocates conveniently forget that any other element save their pet theory of demonetization of silver,—the smallest cause, if a cause at all,—enters into this proposition, and boldly assert that all of our troubles are solely the result of the "crime of 1873." They always leave out of any argument the effects of supply and demand.

The ranks of the laborers of this country have been swelled

during the last twenty-five years by immigrants that would people thirteen States like Maine as densely as it is now populated. "We have no work and no pay for any more millions from abroad; the American paradise is at last overrun." To level things, the laborers must be consumers. This helps make a demand for products; a demand increases prices. The class of immigrants who have come here to compete with our laborers do not consume one-half as much as an American. Take, for example, the Chinaman, the Italian, or the Hungarian. A whole family will live in one room, and eat what an American would not feed to his chickens.

In 1830, working fourteen hours a day, a single operator could only weave about 4000 yards of cloth in a year; in 1840, 9000 yards; in 1891, working only ten hours a day, 30,000 yards of the same goods. Many of our tradesmen have been thrown out of employment, or their wages reduced, by improved machinery and immigrants.

We no longer "bind out" the American youth to learn a trade; the shoemaker has become a "cobbler," and the man who can make a "whole watch" has become a journeyman without a demand. Science and invention have done away with the old methods of production, we must have the maximum of production with a minimum of cost.

Where the buffaloes once roamed, to-day we find golden fields of grain, and with a horse of steel, in a few hours, we can place these products in competition with the Eastern farmer. Our meat stuffs are furnished by the large ranches, where the cost of raising the animal is reduced almost to that of air and water, and they come to us over the steel rails, and through the large packing houses, where machinery handles the dumb brutes like a boy would play with his top.

Think what electricity has done in the past few years; see how the telephone has taken the place of the messenger boy, and the trolley system and *free coinage of bicycles and bloomers*, the place of hundreds of thousands of horses, all this since the demonetization of silver, and then ask yourself to believe that this is the one and only cause for the conditions that now exist. Our facilities to manufacture are almost unbounded, and improving every year; our facilities to consume do not increase so rapidly. Improved machinery is said to help mankind by making what he consumes cheaper, and by furnishing labor for the ones who make the machines. A single type-setting machine will do the work of six compositors, and a last-*ing* machine the work of eight laborers. These machines do not consume, wear, or eat anything; consequently they cause an over-production—or we better call it an under-consumption. We must

have consumers if we are to get good prices for our merchandise. While the process of manufacturing these machines does furnish labor, it does not do so in proportion to the jobs they take away from the laborers, and a machine generally lasts long enough to make a mechanic go hungry if he was waiting to get a job by making another. These things will adjust themselves, but the proposition furnishes a subject for study. Don't lay it to demonetization of silver.

Taking an average of wages they have increased; a day's work buys more than it ever did before; the unemployed are the ones who are unhappy. Many of our laborers have been thrown out of employment by the "Wilson bill." It was not enough for them to have to compete with improved machinery and immigrant labor, but our Democratic friends passed a law that has compelled them to compete with the pauper labor of foreign countries, even with the Mongolians.

Everything will adjust itself in time to the benefit of all, if we do not support false theories, and have to pay for our own mistakes; we must vote to protect the American laborer, and to pay him with the best dollar on earth.

"Free trade, tight money, lack of work, low wages, poverty, Socialism, Populism, Anarchy, free silver, ruin. That is the chain. Let us have protection again, and in its train will follow the investment of capital, abundance of work, high wages, plenty, Republicanism, an honest dollar, and prosperity—as surely as day follows night."

THE QUANTITY OF MONEY NOTHING TO DO WITH PRICES OF COMMODITIES.

It is asserted that the amount of our circulating medium was reduced by the demonetization of silver, and that as a consequence prices have fallen. No statement could be more erroneous. This theory is founded upon the suppression of facts and the expression of fiction. There has been an enormous increase in the amount of money in this country. In 1860 the whole circulating medium was only \$442,102,477; in 1872 it was \$738,309,549; and as shown by the bulletin of the Treasury in July, 1896, it was \$1,509,725,200. Our money supply has increased since 1860 by over 240 per cent., 104 per cent. of which is since 1872; it has increased much faster than population and commerce. In 1860 the per capita circulation was \$14.06; in 1872, about \$18, and on the first of July, 1896, estimating the population of the United States as 71,000,000, the per capita circulation was \$21.15. Estimating the same on our last census, which is probably nearer correct, on account of the vast number of foreigners who have left our country during this depression, the circulation per capita is about \$25.

During all this time there has been a great increase in the facilities of trade, and an expansion of our currency caused by the savings of our people which have been deposited in our banks and used over and over again. This process permits the use of over \$61 per capita, and again the cross charges through the banks, and the use of bills of exchange, has facilitated commerce beyond any estimate. If the amount per capita affected prices, what a marked difference there would be in prices between Spain and France, Spain having less than \$12 per capita, France about \$36 per capita; and between Italy and France, the former having less than \$5 per capita and the latter \$36.

The prices of commodities in these adjacent countries are about the same. England has less money per capita than France, but for some natural economic reasons many things are cheaper in Paris than they are in London.

High prices are the cause of putting lots of money in circulation, but are not the effect. If the volume of money affected prices as our free silver friends would have us believe, in the sense of the office of money, "that of a measure of values," how long things would be if we had lots of yard sticks; how heavy things would be if we had lots of pound weights; what a supply of potatoes the farmer would have if he had more bushel baskets. Looking at this question in its proper light, the quantity of money, after we have a sufficient amount to effect our exchanges, has no more to do with prices than the distance between here and Philadelphia has to do with the speed of the next train that goes there.

The wealth of the country consists of realities, improvements, and commodities, and their prices are controlled by supply and demand. Money is a convenient means of exchange; we trade commodities with each other. Of course money may constitute wealth, but when hoarded it does no one any good. Frighten it out of circulation and you produce a stagnation in business such as we are now having. Money is valuable only in the sense that it can be used; we cannot eat or wear it, but it will purchase food, clothe our backs, and, when doing so, it will pay the honest labor that produced the food and manufactured the clothes.

The quality of our currency has much to do with prices. We will understand this when we come back to the original measure of value, labor. Labor actually rates values. If we sell our products for higher prices we must pay higher prices for what we use. We are but exchanging labor or the products of labor. If poor money and inflated currency will not purchase as much merchandise, prices must, in time, go up accordingly; but the laborer's wages will be the last prices raised—the stock markets will take care of raising the

prices of commodities at once. In war times labor's wages went up slowly, regardless of the demand for men in the army, but everything the laborer had to use went up rapidly. The price of living increased, between 1860 and 1865, one hundred and sixteen per cent, while during the same period the increase in wages was only forty-three per cent. A barrel of flour in 1860 cost \$8.25, in 1866 it cost \$16.25; a pound of butter 17 cents in the former year, and 55 cents in the latter; at the first date coffee cost 11½ cents, at the second, 43 cents; and so on, comparing the two dates: a Brussels carpet \$1.20 per yard—\$3.50 per yard; a ton of coal, \$4 to \$10; and these only refer to the wholesale prices of the commodities.

Inflated currency simply indicates a change in the meaning of the words "dollars" and "cents." Going back to the same periods referred to, the average of wages for day laborers in cities at first was a dollar a day, and rose gradually to 1865, when it was \$1.50 per day. Locomotive engineers' wages only varied from \$2.30 to \$2.88 in the same period, while, as it has been previously shown, the cost of living had been increased one hundred and sixteen per cent. Bookkeepers, teachers, clergymen, and salesmen fared worse. Orphans and widows living on an income left from insurance or inheritance, or living on the interest of savings-bank deposits, all government pensioners, and others of this class had to face the increased expenses without any hope of an increased income. Would not the inflation caused by free coinage of silver produce the same results? We leave the answer for your careful consideration.

PRIMARY MONEY.

Primary money must be intrinsically valuable, its principal office being that of a rating standard. It says that every dollar used in its stead has the same purchasing power that it has. It is not used in two per cent. of all the commercial transactions of the world; our free silver friends, notwithstanding this, seem possessed to have the real money. What they want of it, when all of our other money is just as good, is hard to understand. The value of this kind of money is established by natural laws, by the supply and demand of the metals in the world, and the cost of production. Does anyone need to be told that if silver became primary money the rating standard, silver, would reduce the value, purchasing power, of all of our token money to that of the purchasing power of the silver itself, and that in the face of all experiences, the "Gresham law" would remove all of the gold from circulation, put it away in stockpiles, hide it in safe deposit vaults, send it abroad; and that our circulating medium would

be reduced by the loss of our gold about \$600,100,000, and that it would also be reduced by the depreciated value of our silver rating standard about one-half; and that the Government would lose all seigniorage upon the silver in circulation. Isn't it easy to see that when silver became the rating standard, traveling on its own shape, weight, and fineness, that $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver would be worth as much in any market of the world as it would be after the Government put its stamp upon it, and that instead of its pouring into the mints to increase the circulating medium, it would sell itself in the nearest market for its bullion value, and that our circulating medium would gradually grow less. What is the per capita circulating medium of free silver countries? It is much less than that of gold standard countries. In Mexico it is but a little over two dollars in our money, and in other countries of the same class you will see a similar condition. Our mints, if running full time, could only coin about 40,000,000 silver dollars in a year, but our free "silver-ites" say, "Pile it up in Washington and issue silver certificates against it," but as before explained, would it reach Washington, when its value was but itself, and it its own redeemer? No, it would be disposed of in the first market, to save freight and trouble. The idea that silver would rush to our mints from abroad and from our own mines is erroneous. It would only result in an increased value of silver for a short time, during which time this theory is correct; then it would fall flat to the purchasing power of the silver in the silver dollar. While the mine-owner would nominally get \$1.29 per ounce for his silver, the word dollar would have another meaning and would be called, in other countries, "The American Short Dollar," or the "American 50-cent Dollar," and they would demand two for every dollar's worth of goods sold us, and pay us for everything bought in our own cheap dollars. How cheap our dollar would become under such a law would depend on how much silver was produced; the incentive thus offered would doubtless open many mines. Instead of increasing our circulating medium under this policy, we would soon reduce it to an alarming extent. Natural laws are not controlled by statutes. "We should all accept of the laws of earth, or else change our residence, if possible."

"We have resources abundant to get the gold. Forty million people can furnish all the money that is necessary. They will get it. When gold is invited to a country like this, with such an industrious people as we have, with our industry and our resources, I say there will be no difficulty about getting sufficient gold."

—Senator W. M. Stewart of Nevada.

CHAPTER VI.

SENTIMENT INVOKED WHERE ARGUMENT IS LACKING.

WHAT is meant about silver being "the money of our Constitution," silver being the established unit, and the acts of our good forefathers, Hamilton, Jefferson, etc.? Why bring these honored gentlemen into a political movement of to-day? They did their work well in their day, and to the best of their knowledge and experience. They were among the framers of our Constitution; they framed the coinage laws of 1792; and left them so that future generations could change and correct them, if any mistakes were developed. Our Constitution, made by these wise men, gives to Congress the right to make or change any coinage laws to conform to the requirements of the world or commerce. This is all that was done in 1873; our legislators simply used the prerogative inherited by the Constitution "to change and regulate" the coinage laws for the best interests of all.

I do not accuse the majority of silver men of dishonest motives, but I do say some of the leaders are actuated by selfish interests, political or otherwise, and, like a lawyer who has a hard case, they use facts carelessly. Now it is asserted that silver was made the standard rating unit of money by our good old forefathers. God bless them! it's too bad to accuse them of making a mistake they never made, but they made another. They established legal bimetalism, and nature tore it down. They are called in now to help the silver men out, in the place of arguments. They are silent and can't say, "We have changed our minds on the money question; we have noticed that the two metals did not circulate together at a fixed parity. A gold watch is now worth about thirty-one times as much as our old silver watches; when we bought them we thought them something pretty nice." They are called upon for sentiment, for the respect we have for their memory.

The silver dollar was never established as our single-standard money unit, from which the value of all money was reckoned. "It's a play upon words," and a confidence game upon the people, to try to make it so appear. I quote from Jefferson's own words to prove my statements, then I want to admit, for the purpose of argument, that silver was made the sole unit at that time, and if

so what has it to do with the Cuban troubles of to-day. Here is what he said: "*I concur with you that the unit must stand upon both metals.*" He believed this was right, and they believed in many things in those days that we don't believe in now—slavery, for example. We have changed lots of other laws that were made then, without being accused of heresy. All we want is the same right to improve upon our laws that we have had to improve upon our means of transportation, our methods of communication, our instruments of war, etc. How we would have fared in our recent war if we had used the kind of weapons that Washington did, and the South had adopted modern equipments!

There is more sentiment in war than in money, so I feel sure under the free silver argument we should have gone back to "flintlocks" and "blunderbusses."

Our competitors of foreign countries have adopted gold as the defense of the value of their commerce, and we have done the same thing to protect our own values; and Senator Stewart of Nevada and Senator Sherman, who were both identified with the "crime of 1873," were not responsible for any wrong. Senator Stewart was a gold man then, and voted for the measure. He was right then, he has changed colors since. The ability to produce silver in Nevada now is something beyond computation. I think you can understand why Sherman was a gold man then and is now; right then, right now. We might with as much sense cry, "Back to the days of the stagecoach; away with the typewriter! we want the quill that Washington used, the one that signed the Declaration of Independence; away with the improved methods of agriculture, down with the telephone," as to foolishly say, "Give us the money of our 'Daddies.'" We should have the same right to improve upon our money as upon anything else; we should have the same right to improve upon these coinage laws as our forefathers had to improve upon Kieft's ideas of free coinage.

FREE COINAGE IN NEW YORK IN 1620 A. D.

The policy of free coinage is confounded with the idea that the people would have more money. Where would they get it? It can become theirs only for a consideration. They should have more thought about its quality.

Free coinage was an early experiment in New York. It dates from the Dutch settlement in this city, then known as New Amsterdam. William Kieft, the Governor, conceived the project of making wampum the coin of his province, thinking to suppress poverty and increase wealth. Now this class of thing—shells, beads, etc.—had an intrinsic value with the Indians, they used them

to ornament their dress; but with the settlers they had no more intrinsic value than those rags which form the paper currency of modern days. Kieft paid no attention to this. He made it the money of his province for all government and private debts. For a time affairs went on swimmingly; money became as plentiful as in the days of paper currency, and, to use the popular phrase, a wonderful impetus was given to business. "Yankee" traders bought of the unsuspecting Dutchmen everything of value they could lay their hands on, and paid them for it their own price in their own money; if the latter bought anything of the "Yankees" they demanded the money of the world, gold or silver. They would not take shells or beads. The "Yankees" soon established a mint of their own at Oyster Bay, where shells were plentiful, and with this they deluged the province, carrying off in exchange all the Dutch cheeses and Dutch herrings. Washington Irving, whose history is responsible for this tale, puts it in this way: "Thus early did the knowing men of the East manifest their skill in bargaining the New Amsterdammers out of the oyster and leaving them the shell."

Under free coinage, would not the other countries of the world pay us with our wampum and make us pay them in gold?

MISLEADING COMPARISONS.

Some of our writers, free silver authors who are working for the mine-owners, attempt to scare the people by telling them what enormous debts we have and how little gold we have to pay them with. They picture them as a mountain. The first and the most harmful writer on this subject, because of his shrewd way of putting things, made beautiful pictures of the amount of gold in the world by drawing cubes; some of his converts and imitators have selected small houses to metaphorically pile up the metal in, to show how little there is. Now we are not going to contradict the dimensions of the pile; we do not care whether they are correct or not. What we want to do is to remove the false theories, false ideas that they conveyed by leaving the reader to believe that, after our debts were paid, the gold would all be across the "briny deep," never to return.

Not long ago I had a discussion with a free silver man who showed me how all of our gold was going abroad to pay interest, notwithstanding the fact that we had the whole dollar on this side that we were paying interest on, and the use of it to accumulate more. The next free silver man I ran against had another theory about as logical; he showed how much gold we had in this country

in 1893, then he subtracted from this all that we had sent abroad since to pay for imports, and divided what remained by the population, and showed conclusively that we had almost no money per capita; but his theory, like all the rest, was wrong. When business is normal, and we have a protective tariff, we manufacture, produce, and export commodities in exchange for foreign gold; so one hand washes the other.

It is true that, even under the McKinley law, in gross we imported more than we have under the Wilson bill, but not in the class of goods that we could have manufactured here under protection, and sold abroad, so the Wilson bill has worked two ways against us. It has not protected us so that we could manufacture and sell these goods to other countries and get their gold and keep the balance of trade where it belongs, but it has permitted other countries to sell such goods in our markets and ship our gold, and it has thrown thousands of our laborers out of employment.

They can juggle with false logic as much as they please; pile all the gold in cubes and houses, but still natural laws will exist and the money thus piled will not remain idly there; it will go and come many times. They start out to accomplish an end and forget to trace the whole transaction, stopping where it appears to prove their theories.

They show you how much the debts of the country are, and leave the reader to understand that, after they are paid, the gold paying them will be consumed. These debts will all be paid with "the products of the future." Money—whether gold, silver, or paper—possesses an indefinite repeating power; it is in one place, measuring the value of commodities to-day, and in another, performing the same function to-morrow.

Do not confound money with commodities. Commodities ultimately reach the consumer and disappear from the market altogether, but money is not consumed when it performs its function; it has simply changed hands and will continue to do so when business is normal; the oftener the better. Money, in a sense, is like a yard stick or the pound weight. Suppose our silver friends should pile all the pound weights in the world in one of their cubes or houses, what effect would that have upon the weight of a load of hay? Weight is controlled by the natural laws of gravity; values are controlled by the natural laws of supply and demand. Will a man eat two meals at one time, simply because he has the price in his pocket? Not that he will not spend money more freely if he has plenty of it, but this illustration is used to show that the demand for certain things can be supplied.

One dollar will pay any number of dollars' worth of indebtedness

when used that number of times. I use Hon. James T. McCleary's illustration. It is the best that can be offered on this subject:

"When I was a small boy I saw something that I shall never forget. It was at a circus. The clowns and some other employees arranged themselves in a circle. Let us say that there were twenty of them in all. No. 1 said to No. 2: 'I owe you two dollars; I'll pay up as soon as I can.' No. 2 made this statement to No. 3, No. 3 to No. 4, and so on around the circle, No. 20 saying it to No. 1. No. 1 shoved his hands into his pockets, and with a look of pleased surprise pulled out a dollar. Turning to No. 2, he said: 'I didn't know that I had that dollar; here's so much on account.' No. 2 took the dollar, and with similar language passed it on to No. 3, and so it went around the ring. No. 20 passed it to No. 1, who received it with a smile and started to put it into his pocket, but instead he turned to No. 2 and said: 'I didn't expect to be able to pay you the balance so soon, but here it is.' And so it went around the ring, finally came back to No. 1, who, with a satisfied smile, put it into his pocket.

"To the little boy who looked on as I did thirty-odd years ago, this was simply the funny work of clowns, to be laughed at and forgotten. It was not forgotten, however, and to the man older grown and charged with the serious consideration of the affairs of a great nation, it illustrates the profoundest truth in finance, What is that truth? It is this: Under proper conditions, the working power of each dollar is beyond all human computation."

What would the farmer think of the vender who attempted to sell him as many bushel baskets as he had bushels of potatoes to measure? He would think his intelligence insulted. He knows that he can use the basket over and over again an indefinite number of times, and the quantity measured in a given time depends upon the rapidity with which it is used, the same as our prosperity depends upon the nimbleness of our dollars.

All that we lack to bring about this condition of things is confidence.

"Confidence and credit are the factors of American prosperity and progress. With confidence the spindles hum, the furnace is in blast, the miner is at work. With confidence, labor has full employment, capital is active, and the wheels of the freight car are perpetually revolving. With confidence a business of incalculable magnitude can get along with scarcely any currency. Without confidence there is not money enough in the world to conduct the business of the United States."

Labor and raw material are the only true measures of value. When this unsettled state of affairs is ended by judicious legislation establishing our money unit, the American laborers will soon get the idle dollars into circulation.

NOT INTENTIONAL REPUDIATION BY OUR MASSES.

NOTE.—Grant once said, "Let every obligation, unless otherwise stipulated in the contract, be paid in gold. . . . If any man attempt to repudiate this American principle, let him be driven from public life."

Our people are led to believe that, under free coinage, a silver dollar would be worth what it is now. Many think because a silver dollar buys as much in this country to-day as a gold dollar, that it would do so under free coinage.

A manufacturer in the South, who found his workmen quite generally favored free silver, procured enough Mexican dollars in number and, when Saturday night came, paid their wages in this coin. The Mexican silver dollar, although a little heavier than our own, passes here on the value of its weight in silver, the same as our silver does in foreign countries. These laborers, in attempting to use their Mexican dollars, could only pass them for about fifty cents; they now understand what the value of our silver would be under free coinage.

They are told that they could pay their debts easier with free silver, they are almost led to believe that money would grow on trees, but when they understand that paying these debts on a silver basis, under free coinage, would mean repudiation of about one-half, they will not favor its adoption. Our currency would only be worth fifty cents on the dollar, as compared with the present standard.

By making a comparison with a similar transaction, it may be understood. Suppose you should borrow of someone ten yards of a certain kind of cloth and, before you returned the cloth, the length of the yard should be reduced one-half by law, the meaning of the word yard changed; in order to be just, could you pay the debt with ten of the new yards? or would you have to give him twenty to equitably satisfy the obligation?

Now in reference to what the new dollar would be worth under free coinage, the old lady who had her savings melted in the rubbish pile, during the house-cleaning season, could explain. She had \$50 in gold and \$50 in silver, they were both reduced to bullion; for the silver she could only get \$25, but for the gold she received the whole amount, \$50. If silver should become our rating standard, while we might retain the name, one dollar, for 371 1-4 grains of pure silver, still the purchasing power of that dollar, in labor, would only be what it cost to produce it.

There are 480 grains of silver in an ounce; this is worth about 69 cents. Can anyone explain how the value of 371 1-4 grains could be raised to the value of our gold dollar?

Let us pay our debts in as good money as we contracted them in; let us demand of others the same thing; let us vote for our country to preserve this policy.

"An honest man is the noblest work of God."

An honest dollar—whether gold, paper, or silver—is the noblest work of man.

"At the bottom of every citizen's conscience, the most obscure as well as the greatest, at the very depths of the soul, there is a sentiment—sacred, sublime, insurmountable, and eternal—the Sentiment of Right. This is the hidden, irresistible obstacle, veiled in the recesses of every mind, which Everything False must sooner or later encounter. It is the rock on which Everything Evil must inevitably be shipwrecked."—*Victor Hugo*.

"If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another."

"Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others."

CHAPTER VII.

WHY J. PIERPONT MORGAN AND WALL STREET BECAME RICHER AT THE EXPENSE OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND WHY THE GOVERNMENT HAS TO ISSUE BONDS IN TIMES OF PEACE.

IN 1860 there was an uprising in this country which resulted in a family quarrel between the North and the South over the question of slavery. Both sides were honest. The South thought the North was meddling with their business, with their property, and attempted to establish a separate government. The North maintained that the South had no right to secede. There were extremists on both sides—agitators, who were largely responsible for precipitating the conflict.

John Brown, who came from Kansas, a little way beyond where Bland lives, was the chief agitator. Possibly there is something in that air that produces this kind of people. Bland has been the chief agitator of free silver.

The trouble between the North and the South could have been settled by statesmen had it not been for men of the stamp of John Brown, who stirred up the animus to a point of rebellion. Our Government had to call to its aid generals like Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan; the war was fought at a great expense and loss of life and property, and the mistake that was made placed upon this great country a heavy national debt, but nobody ever found any fault with what they paid Grant and the other generals for their services. It was a time when we needed military ability.

In our recent financial difficulties we have been compelled to call on financial generals, men of financial ability, and we have had to get them from a place where such men are educated. Grant was educated at West Point, Pierpont Morgan in Wall Street; not that we would accord to Mr. Morgan glory in the sense that it belongs to Grant; the comparison is only made to show that we sometimes need the services of great men.

The late Civil War was caused by the agitation of the slavery question; the late financial war on our treasury and upon the foreign investments in this country by the agitation of free silver, the "Wilson Bill," and the "Sherman Law." The "Wilson Bill" has sent millions of gold out of this country to buy goods; the "Sherman Law," which was but a limited free silver law, frightened financiers and our creditors abroad, who have sold securities upon our markets and withdrawn gold from our treasury. The sentiment for free silver has shattered the world's confidence in us; so much so that it has been a constant menace to our gold reserve. Someone of financial ability had to be called upon to provide means to make good the loss. Coxey's road scheme would not do it. No one would deny Mr. Morgan's ability as a financier, nor would any fair-minded person attempt to rob him of the honor of a qualification which is truly his own, nor deny him of the right of remuneration for services rendered.

Everybody respected Grant, and no one found fault because he was paid for his work. The cases are, in a measure, parallel. Such statesmen as Bland, Bryan, Crisp, etc., have caused a war in the financial world, and we were compelled to call in a financial general to save our country's credit and to keep the silver and currency in the hands of the poor, as well as the rich, at full purchasing power, on a parity with gold.

Such statesmen as John Brown, Davis, Breckinridge, etc., caused the Civil War between the North and the South, and we were compelled to call upon a military general to save our Union. Every time we follow leaders of this stamp—leaders who have selfish motives and false theories—we get into trouble that has to be paid for and that dearly, and the people have to settle the bills, and somebody is forced to become richer through our mistakes. Should we make a mistake this fall, and go to a free silver basis, Mr. Bryan would have to call upon a financial general to help him out, and the people would have to pay for his services; and, as the gold or silver passed to and fro through the port of New York, someone would get a "rake off," and the United States would pay the bill. Such lessons should teach us to follow more conservative and experienced leaders—leaders who have been successful in their particular fields.

Our financial troubles are but the result of a misunderstanding of the situation and its requirements. The wealth of this country is unbounded, and all that is wanted to make it prosperous is for the voters to sanction a sound financial and protective policy. When they say, by a good round majority, that our dollars are the recognized standard of the world, gold will flow into our treasury, and we

will have no need of financial assistance. When they say, in the same impressive way, "We will protect our American laborers," prosperity is again ours.

When we resumed specie payment some of our people had misgivings as to the results, and our Democratic friends condemned the policy. That grand old man, Horace Greeley, was asked how to resume, and his answer was "The best way to resume is to resume." The Republican party in Congress had a strong majority, and we had a Republican President. They were as a unit upon resumption, and the bill was passed in a positive manner, in a way that said there could be no mistake about it, so only a few people wanted gold.

On January 1, 1879, our Treasury had in its vaults over \$114,000,000 in gold in excess of its outstanding gold certificates; resumption was begun at the Sub-Treasury in New York, and these notes were paid as fast as presented. The redemption for the first month only amounted to \$1,571,725, and the whole amount redeemed (afterward reissued) to June 30, 1894, was but \$163,098,829.

Resumption occurred when we had a national debt hanging over us of over \$2,000,000,000. To-day our national debt is much reduced. The one at the close of a severe civil war with one section of the country impoverished from its ravages; the other to-day, with a much larger population and a much richer country, Then we had no trouble in returning to and maintaining a gold standard; with the conditions so much in our favor to-day, ought we to have any trouble, if our people would by their votes emphatically say "We want the gold standard, we want the best money, we want a dollar that will pass for its face value anywhere on earth"?

After our experience in the amount of money required for redemption purposes in 1882, Congress, in a sense, fixed the amount necessary to maintain the gold standard as that of \$100,000,000; this has always been considered as a Redemption Fund, and has since 1885 always been reported separate and distinct for that specific purpose. This amount under Republican administration and protection always stood as a wall against all comers, and maintained beyond a question all of our currency at a parity with gold. Under the present administration, in April, 1893, a lack of confidence caused it to fall below the \$100,000,000 mark, and it has been constantly fluctuating ever since, and we have been compelled to repeatedly call upon Wall Street to help the Government out.

Under the almost continuous rule of the Republican party, broken only once by the election of the executive for one term, we have paid over \$1,000,000,000 of our Government debt, over

\$310,000,000 of which was paid in the last Republican administration. In three years of the present Democratic administration we have run behind over \$500,000,000, and this in times of peace, when the country is richer and should be more prosperous.

One experience of this kind is quite enough for intelligent Americans; they will return this fall to protection, prosperity, sound money, and sound principles. The Republican party has always advocated such. Every speech that the West makes against gold and protection is for an adjournment of our national prosperity; every speech that the East makes against the honesty of most of the people of the West is an adjournment of our national prosperity. We should demand a cessation of hostilities between both sections. "What is good for one is good for both; what is bad for one, is bad for both." Investigation and honest discussion is needed.

"There is but one issue before the American people to-day, and that is the maintenance of the honor and life of the Republic. It is assailed with as deadly purpose to-day, by the spirit of repudiation and lawlessness, as it was assailed by armed rebellion thirty-five years ago."—*Philadelphia Times*.

CHAPTER VIII.

A ROBBERY IN BROAD DAYLIGHT.

THE National Democratic Convention, pursuant to regular call, assembled at Chicago, July 9, 1896, for the purpose of nominating national candidates for President and Vice President, and adopting a platform in their usual way. They had not gone far before they noticed that they were entirely in the hands of a new element, but they did not recognize just what this element was, until the adoption of the erratic platform which set forth, in as clear language as ever was done by the Populists themselves, a complete populistic platform.

Hon. Roswell P. Flower of New York said, "We Democrats have made a mistake in coming here; this is a Populist's convention, not a Democratic convention."

It was soon understood and admitted that the free silver Populists had entire control; they had adopted the name of the Democratic party, and had captured the national organization. The sound money Democrats, Mr. Whitney and others, made a strong fight and urged respect to their time-honored principles, and in their committees fought every plank of the anarchistic, populistic platform, but to no avail. Senator Hill made an able speech in which he called attention to what the Democratic party had

been in the past, and contrasted its lifelong principles with the newly proposed platform. It had been said of "David B.," that he would stand by his motto, "I am a Democrat," but he completely took them off their feet and spiked every gun when he reiterated, "I am a Democrat," and added "BUT NOT A REVOLUTIONIST."

There were several prominent candidates' names before the convention, but when the "Boy Orator" from Nebraska made his flowery speech, and closed with his "crown of thorns and cross of gold," he completely captivated the convention, and he was nominated for President of the United States.

The Democratic party in its national platforms has always advocated sound money; it has recognized the authority of our courts, and has able statesmen, many of whom have already denounced the "Popo-Democratic" platform, and will vote for sound money, the integrity of the nation, and prosperity.

The real Democrat in this country to-day is without a party; his party has left him; it was stolen at Chicago, and how he can follow it and vote for anarchy, populism, and repudiation, is hard to understand. How he can follow the name, Democratic, when it is separated from nearly every principle that his party ever advocated, and to-day is adorning a populistic platform, is a conundrum. The courageous, loyal, patriotic Democrat will say to this party in November, "You shall not press down upon our brows this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of silver."

It is well for the country that thinking people do not hesitate to cut loose from party ties when the public good demands that they should. If it were otherwise, the country would now be confronted by a proposition to change the basic principles of the Government, and might have enough supporters as a party measure to make the stability of the nation a question of doubt.

MACAULAY'S PREDICTION.

About forty years ago the great historian, Macaulay, commenting upon our republic, made the following prophecy. Are we about to confirm his predictions? The demagogues* are here, "ranting about the tyranny of the capitalists, and usurers. They are arraying class against class, the poor against the rich, and sowing seeds of discontent."

These are his words:

"The day will come in the United States when a multitude of people, none of whom have had more than half a breakfast or expect to get more than half a dinner, will be called upon to choose a legislature. On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith.

*"You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns—you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

"On the other are demagogues ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers. I seriously apprehend that you will in time see such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will act like people who should in a year of scarcity devour all the seed corn and thus make the next year a year not of scarcity, but of absolute famine. There will be, I fear, spoliation; the spoliation will increase the distress. The distress will produce fresh spoliation.

"When a society has once entered on this downward progress there is nothing to stop it. Either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth; with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged Rome came from without, while your Huns and your Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions."

MCKINLEY'S RECORD—WHAT HE SAID ABOUT SILVER.

In June, 1890, McKinley led the Republicans of the House to defeat the free coinage amendment inserted by the Senate in the silver purchase act of the Sherman law. In making his closing speech against the same, this is what he said:

"They talk about silver being cheap money. And gentlemen no longer conceal on that side and on this, that the reason they want silver is because it is cheap. I am not attracted by that word 'cheap,' whether it is applied to nations or to men, or whether it is applied to money. Cheap, as the term has been employed in this debate, is an evidence of financial demoralization and commercial inferiority. Cheap is a badge of degradation, whether it is applied to individuals or whether it is applied to money, and I do not propose by any vote of mine to force the people of the United States, the farmers and the laborers, to the cheapest money of the world, or to any policy which might tend in that direction. Whatever dollars we have in this country must be good dollars, as good in the hands of the poor as the rich; equal dollars; equal in inherent merit; equal in purchasing power, whether they be paper dollars, or gold dollars, or silver dollars, or Treasury notes—each convertible into the other and each exchangeable for the other, because each is based upon equal value and has behind it equal security; good, not by the fiat of law alone, but good because the whole commercial world recognizes its inherent and inextinguishable value."

His recent speeches show him to be sound on finance. He has always been sound on all questions. I quote from his speech of July 21:

"The Republican party stands now for a sound and stable currency—one dollar as good as any other dollar, and always equal to the best of any and all of the civilized nations of the world."

He outlined the danger to labor from a depreciated currency, and quoted Daniel Webster's declaration, that "*a disordered currency is fatal to industry, frugality, and economy*"; it "*fosters the spirit of speculation and extravagance*," and "*is the most effectual of*

inventions to fertilize the rich man's fields with the sweat of the poor man's brow"; and then, dropping his manuscript to his side and with uplifted arms, declared that "our currency to-day is good—all of it is as good as GOLD—and it is the policy of the Republican party to so maintain it forever."

COINAGE IN SOME OF OUR PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES.

In 1792, after a great deal of study, our first coinage laws were established; they were established on the commercial ratio of the two metals in the markets of the world at that time, this was 15 to 1. Jefferson said on fixing the ratio:

"Just principles will lead us to disregard the legal proportions altogether; to inquire into the market price of gold in the several countries with which we shall be principally connected in commerce, and to take an average from them."

As has been before stated, legal ratios would not maintain their circulation at a parity, so in 1834 it was changed to 16 to 1 to try to secure bimetallism. This failed, so in 1873 silver was demonetized.

In referring to the acts of 1792, one of our sensational silver writers says for effect: "This was in the days of Washington and Jefferson and our Revolutionary fathers, who had a hatred of England and an intimate knowledge of their designs upon this country." If they were actuated by such motives, why did they imitate England, who was then struggling with bimetallism? England did not demonetize silver until 1816. Silver in England has since that time been coined only on Government account, and is a limited legal tender to the amount of ten dollars.

The Latin Union is composed of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and Greece. These countries, with the exception of Greece, formed a compact in 1865, Greece joining about two years later.

They attempted various coinage schemes, all on a basis of bimetallism. It resulted in the suspension of gold payments in France, in 1871, '72, '73, so they were compelled to demonetize silver about that time, since when there has been a fixed policy maintained, gold and silver passing current because of the confidence in the system, and because to annul it two years' notice is required. France has a very large and increasing gold reserve. If the people had the same confidence in our system of finance, gold would flow into our Treasury.

We may state in short that early in the seventies, all of the principal countries of the world with whom we have commercial relations, demonetized silver. There has been about fifty times as much silver coined in the United States since it was demonetized as there was in all the previous years of our republic.

SOME SHORT SAYINGS:

Make the people think that wampum's good as gold;
Indian arrow-heads as well; quaint sea shells old;
Continental buttons—anything, you know—
If the Government should only stamp it so.

Make 'em think "the gold reserve" is all a sham,
And that silver 'll make 'em "happy as a clam";
Make 'em think that Uncle Sam can make one, two;
Then you'll clearly push the silver humbug through.

But till then I'll think the people will have sense,
As they read, to see through all of this pretense,
For the tempting worm you're troling through the brook
Has within it a most dangerous silver hook!

CHARLES H. TALCOTT.

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES N. FOWLER.—"We want as good money as any nation in the world. We want that of the highest standard and of the best quality; for we are the first nation in the world and must be up to date in the progress of the world. We want a basis of exchange that will leave no opportunity for bankers to squeeze the merchants out of 5 per cent. on the pretence of doubtful money, or the cost of converting it into exchange. We want a basis that will leave no opportunity for merchants to squeeze 20 or 25 per cent. out of the farmers and laboring men under the same pretence. We want a money so good that not one millionth part of a cent can be deducted from the wages of the laborer because of the doubt of its goodness.

"It has been established beyond question that poor or fluctuating money has always resulted in great profit to the banker, and a corresponding loss to the people, and the nearer you get to the laboring classes, and the lower every form of labor, the greater is the loss to the laborer.

"When gold payments were suspended by France in the years 1871, 1872, and 1873, the dividends of the Bank of France were 20 per cent. for the second half of 1871; 32 per cent. for 1872; and 35 per cent. for 1873, proving again the fact that had been established times without number, that all of the loss growing out of poor money, or any money poorer than the best, is always borne by the people."
—*Congressional Record, February 11, 1896, page 2130.*

"If this country is big enough to 'get along' with a fifty-cent dollar, it is big enough to get along twice as well with a real dollar."

"If a silver mine owner is to have the privilege of taking fifty-three cents worth of bullion to the mint and getting a dollar for it, why should not the farmer have the same right for his wheat and his cotton?"

"A man who has lots of money can get along if the value of it is reduced one half, and the prices of food and everything else are doubled, but a man who has but little money and works for his living, cannot get along when the prices of the necessaries of life are doubled and his wages remain the same."

"A silver dollar at the ratio of 16 to 1 is not an honest dollar, and no sophistry can persuade a true man to betray his conscience and assist in legislating it into existence."

"If the Government could be justified in arbitrarily fixing an unchangeable value for silver, why would it not be justified in rescuing the laboring classes from the fluctuation of wages, by classifying labor and fixing a standard price for each class."

Ex-Congressman Sperry of Connecticut says of Mr. Bryan: "He was always spoken while in Congress, and stood for revolutionary legislation, such as that which he is now the standard bearer."

We want good wages and good prices, but whether good or poor, we want, we all, good money for what is due us."

I am unhesitatingly for free silver, as the mine-owners and those who represent them are so outspoken and eloquent in their desires to help the farmers and the laboring classes that I have not for a moment a doubt but that their magnanimity will prompt them to divide the dollars they get for their silver equally among those who need money the most. I am bound to believe in their generosity till I have proof to the contrary."

If there are any in this country who are remitting money to Europe to assist their relatives, what would be the effect of free silver on them? Now their ten dollars are worth its face value on the other side; under free coinage it would be worth only five dollars."

"It is an indisputable fact that the wage-earners of every silver-standard country are not home builders. Their compensation is so small that they have to constantly struggle for food and raiment, and reasonable comfort is the exception."

British Honduras, small as it is, has found the Mexican dollar an inadequate impracticable standard of coinage, and is adopting our gold dollar as its standard, yet we have those among us who want us to vote to take up a financial system abandoned by little Honduras."

M. G. Natrusch, to the *New York World*, says, "Progressive scale of the world's medium of trade—pebbles, shells, glass, iron, copper, silver, gold.
"Retrospective, gold, silver. When are we to strike pebbles again?"

"Those who believe that the free coinage of silver would be a panacea for all their ills are possessed with the same kind of delusion that possessed the negroes of the South, who believed that the campaign cry, 'Forty acres and a mule,' would really be fulfilled and that it would be the fortune of each of them."

"Prosperity will come only with increased business. Increased business will come only with increased revenues. Increased revenue will come only with protection. Protection will come only with Republicanism. Republicanism will come only with McKinley."

"Money makes the mare go." But "it must be stable money."

"A change in personal interests has often wrought wonderful changes in individual acts."

CHAPTER IX.

SENATOR WILLIAM M. STEWART'S RECORD AS A "GOLD BUG"—GLEANED FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HE IS NOW A "SILVER BUG"—WHY?—HIS RECORD AS ONE OF THE ABLEST MINING ATTORNEYS IN THE FAR WEST—HIS WORK FOR SILVER MINERS.

By Dr. A. S. Robinson.

SENATOR WILLIAM M. STEWART of Nevada was an uncompromising advocate of the gold standard until the close of his second term in the United States Senate. He was elected Senator in 1864, and re-elected in 1869, his last term closing March 3, 1875, more than two years after the coinage act, which he now calls "the crime of '75," was passed. He was a member of the Senate during the three years that that act was under consideration, and is recorded as voting for it on January 10, 1871, which was the only ye and nay vote taken on it in the Senate, and is said to have voted for its final passage. Consideration of the qualifications of a witness being necessary in order to determine the value of his testimony, it will be well to note carefully some of the facts in his history. After receiving an academic education he entered Yale College in 1848, and though he left Yale in 1850 to go to California, his ability and scholarship caused his name to be enrolled among the members of the class of 1852, and he received the degree of A. M. in 1865. He arrived in San Francisco in May, 1850, and immediately engaged in mining in Nevada County, where he discovered the celebrated Eureka diggings, and accumulated money. He began the study of law early in 1852, and was appointed District Attorney in December of that year, and in 1854 became Attorney General and settled in San Francisco. Later he removed to Downieville, Cal., where he devoted himself to the study and practice of the laws that relate to mining and similar processes. In 1860 he removed to Virginia City, Nev., and was immediately retained in almost every case of importance before the higher courts. To his efforts is mainly due the permanent settlement of the titles of nearly all the mines of the great Comstock lode.

In 1861 he was chosen a member of the territorial council, and in 1863 he was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention. The brief sketch of his life up to the time of his election to the United States Senate, taken in connection with the fact that he had served in that body continuously from 1864 until February 12, 1873, when the coinage act, which he now condemns, was passed, makes it seem impossible that he did not thoroughly understand

every provision of the said coinage act. Senator Stewart was undoubtedly one of the best equipped men in the Senate to pass upon such a measure; he was wonderfully keen and alert, and, as a representative of the State more largely interested in silver than any other, the probability of his being ignorant of any provision of it after it had been under consideration from April 25, 1870, to February 12, 1873, and been debated until the discussion filled 144 columns of the *Globe*, is so slight as to render any claim to that effect incredible, and to entirely refute the charge that Ernest Seyd secured the passage of the act by debauching the United States Senate with English gold; it being impossible to believe that such a man as Senator Stewart could, under such circumstances, have remained ignorant of a crime of that kind, had it been committed.

The truth is that Mr. Stewart was a most determined and able advocate of single gold standard, as the following extracts from speeches made by him long after the passage of that act abundantly prove. He said: "I want the standard gold, and no paper money not redeemable in gold. . . ."

"Let everybody know what a dollar is worth. Then the man who goes West to buy produce will be under no necessity to insure himself against the fluctuations of the currency. He can pay the full value of the wheat then without the fear that a change in the price of gold will break him down before he gets back to New York. The wheat will be measured by the same standard—gold—in Illinois as it is in Liverpool, and any man can figure it up. But now it is a mystery; the whole subject of finance is a mystery; and what do we see every day? We see those who devote their attention to it making large fortunes out of this mystery. Let us do as all the people of the world have been doing from the beginning, measure our values by gold, adopt the standard that all can understand, and get rid of this mystery."—*February 11, 1874, Congressional Record, p. 1302.*

"The question never will be settled until you determine the simple question whether the laboring man is entitled to a gold dollar if he earns it, or whether you are going to cheat him with something else. That is the upshot of the whole thing. The people will hold right on to that, and they will come to the conclusion, 'I am entitled to just as good money as my neighbor,' and to that party they will all finally come until it will get to be a big party. It was a little party in England once, but it grew wonderfully. It has been a little party in this country occasionally, but under Silas Wright, Tom Benton, and Calhoun, and others, it grew to be the party of the country. The Whig party had to adopt it and put it into their platform in order to get along at all. Everybody had to say that the laboring man was entitled to a good dollar. That was fought over. They will fight it over again, and the same party will win. There have been a great many battles fought against gold, and gold has won every time. Gold never has compromised. You say you have got up a compromise bill on the question whether gold shall be respected. Gold has made the world respect it all the time. The English people once thought they could get along without gold for awhile, but they had to go back to it."—*June 12, 1874, Congressional Record, p. 4909.*

"I do not care how much you discuss it or how many resolutions you pass, they do not make any difference; you must come to the same conclusion that all other people have—that gold is recognized as the universal standard of value. It is the

measure that must be used. It is the measure by which your wealth must be tested; and whether it be pennies or millions matters not, it is the measure that must test all wealth. The wealth of the United States is tested by the same rule. It has been and always will be the touchstone of measurement; and when you depart from that and try to figure up any other measure which the world does not recognize, you get into confusion. Attempting to reconcile them it is idle to talk about. It is idle to talk about compromising on any other measure of value; world will not accept it. We have the experience of every nation that has tried it; and it has been tried in almost every civilized nation. . . . Do not let us try to deceive the American people; do not let us try to make them believe by some hocus-pocus of legislation that we can give them something of real value, we give them a measure of value that is better than the universal standard of any kind. Do not deceive them in that regard. Let them know the facts now. *June 11, 1874, Congressional Record, p. 4867.*

"I believe that it would be highly injurious to this country to again inflate the currency. . . . I need not enlarge upon the evils of a depreciated currency, country has felt them too severely to require that I should mention them. Matters not what kind of a depreciated currency you have, it necessarily entails many evils."—*January 23, 1874, Congressional Record, p. 865.*

"I say a depreciated currency is attended with many evils. The middlemen provide against it. In shipping grain, as was illustrated, from Illinois to Liverpool, every person who handles that grain will insure himself against these fluctuations. He will charge a higher commission. If the grain is to remain in his possession step by step he will insure against fluctuations; and everyone between the producer and the consumer will insure himself against them. Is it not a fact with fluctuating currency that the value of wheat in Illinois is the price in Liverpool, less the cost of transportation? When you have a depreciated currency you not only take into account transportation, but you have to take into account insurance that every man who handles the wheat will take against the change in the price in gold constantly coming upon him. It gives speculators and middlemen a chance to cut both ways and eat up the consumer and the producer. But suppose you adopt what the world adopts as the measure of value for the currency, then what will you have? Then you can have all the currency you want, you have got money to buy. You will have the world's currency. You can have all the money then that you have got the representative of value for. You have inflation then on a sound basis. . . . Sir, you want currency enough to do the business of the country, and when you adopt the measure of value that the world recognizes you will have sufficient money to do the business of the country the same as they do anywhere else, because if you have got crops to move and have a necessity for money, the world will come to your aid at once, but if you have a depreciated currency that drives all the rest out, that prevents your gold, then you will have these same difficulties. . . . If you adopted the universal measure of value—gold—on your basis, then your circulation would be fixed, and it would be much harder to make a "corner" on the gold in this country than the circulation of the country, which would distribute itself according to the needs of trade throughout the country."—*January 23, 1874, Congressional Record, p. 866.*

"We hesitate whether we will give the laboring man a dollar which has purchasing power enough to support him. We hesitate whether we will stop the speculation in gold in New York. We hesitate whether we will take out of the hands of the middlemen the capacity to eat up the wealth of the country. We hesitate whether the profits of this land shall all concentrate in the commercial centers, and

money is the object of trade, where organizations are formed for the purpose of getting rich on your depreciated currency and robbing the producer. We hesitate whether we shall be honest and fair; the Senate hesitates; and the Senators appeal to the people in speeches and call upon them to throttle the banks, to throttle the monopoly, to bring down the rate of interest. This proposition is the very thing that throttles dishonesty, and it is the very thing we want."—*February 20, 1874, Congressional Record, p. 1677.*

"We have resources abundant to get the gold. Forty million people can furnish all the money that is necessary. They will get it. When gold is invited to a country like this, with such an industrious people as we have, with our industry and our resources, I say there will be no difficulty about getting sufficient gold.

"Why, sir, everything we have got is measured by gold. Your greenbacks are measured by gold. But your contrivance is so uncertain that the middleman reaps all the reward, while the producer is robbed continuously. If you are going to have gold in this country, you must make a demand for gold by using it. . . . In every country where gold has been treated unkindly, where the Government has favored a depreciated currency, gold has left the country. Gold left France at the time she undertook this same experiment. Gold left England when she allowed irredeemable paper to be circulated, and she had to go back to the regular standard before she could get it back. Gold left Holland in the same way. . . . You have legislated gold out of your country. Invite it back, and forty million people will get you all the gold you want. . . . You will have all the gold you need as a regulator, as a basis for your currency, and it will come very shortly. Then we shall have prosperity based upon a certainty."—*February 20, 1874, Congressional Record, p. 1678.*

These quotations prove that Senator Stewart not only thought the gold standard the best, but that he believed its adoption to be absolutely necessary for the prosperity of our people, especially the farmer and workingman.

There is one thing which we should perhaps consider here, and that is that silver which was worth \$1.328 an ounce in 1870, was, though falling steadily, still worth \$1.278 in 1874, the year in which these remarks were made. Senator Stewart's second term expired as above stated, March 3, 1875. In 1887 silver had fallen to \$0.97823 an ounce, and it is not uncharitable to suppose that those having a commercial interest in it felt that they must do everything in their power to improve the market for it.

The interests involved were much greater than most people suppose, and Nevada was deeply concerned. A few facts will show this better than anything else could do. From 1873 to 1878 the Bonanza mines shipped \$100,011,085.05 of bullion and from that sum paid dividends (profits) of \$69,140,000, or within a fraction of 70 per cent, of the entire products of the mines. The Consolidated Virginia began paying dividends May, 1874, and in 1877 had paid \$35,640,000. The California mine began paying dividends May, 1876, and to December, 1877, inclusive, paid \$21,600,000. Twenty Comstock mines in Nevada, other than the Consolidated Virginia, paid \$47,223,000 up to December, 1877, nine of them paying over \$40,000,000 of it. Nearly all of this vast sum was taken from the Comstock lode, a spot of ground less than 800 feet long, and from 60 to 300 feet wide.

But this was not all the money made out of these mines; they increased their stock from 294,300 shares in 1870 to 3,431,200 in 1877, and the profit made by the sale of these shares and by speculating in them was enormous. Silver mining is the greatest millionaire mill ever known.

Please bear in mind that it was to Senator Stewart's efforts that the permanent

settlement of the titles of nearly all of the great mines of the Comstock lode was due, and that he acquired a fortune in mining and mining litigation. It is not unreasonable to suppose that those interested would naturally turn to the attorney whose remarkable ability, great energy, and thorough knowledge of mining had been so serviceable to them.

In 1887 Mr. Stewart was again elected a United States Senator, and has since been one of the most resolute, persistent, and successful advocates of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and its unrestricted use as legal tender money, which will undoubtedly result in silver monometallism and depreciation of our currency to about one-half of its present value. In 1893 silver had fallen to 78 cents an ounce, or a ratio of about $26\frac{1}{2}$ to gold, while its production had increased from \$81,800,000 coinage value in 1873 to \$196,605,200 in 1892. And, which was almost as alarming to the silver mine owners, the production of gold has increased from \$90,750,000 in 1874 (the year in which the above extracts from his speeches prove that Senator Stewart insists that it is the only safe standard of value) to \$130,816,600 in 1892. These conditions stimulated the owners of silver mines to still greater efforts to improve the market for their product, and there being no other advocate of their interests as able as Senator Stewart, he was, in 1893, again elected a United States Senator.

Since that time his efforts in behalf of silver have been, if possible, more relentless than before; goaded by the facts that silver has been as low as 68 cents an ounce with a weak and fluctuating market, while the total production increased to \$216,892,200 in 1894, and in 1895 (Mint estimate) to \$226,262,600; and the equally (to him) annoying fact that the production of gold increased to \$180,626,100 in 1894, and to \$203,000,000 in 1895. The silver men realizing that self-preservation is the first law of nature, have recently resorted to extraordinary methods. In 1895, the "Order of the Silver Knights of America" was founded, with Senator Stewart the Supreme President of it. This is a password and grip secret organization for promoting the free and unlimited coinage of silver. In the summer of 1895 Senator Stewart started a paper in Washington, D. C., called the *Silver Knight*, which has since absorbed a paper which had been established some years under the name of *The National Watchman*. Senator Stewart edits this paper with marked ability. It has a well appointed office, including a perfecting press, and can print 500,000 copies weekly, and is almost wholly devoted to the cause of free silver.

Since 1894 a book entitled "Silver and the Science of Money," of which Senator Stewart is the author, has been distributed throughout the country in great numbers, as has several of his speeches in favor of silver, all being sent under his frank. It is interesting to note that he was a delegate to both the Populist and Free Silver Conventions, which recently met in St. Louis.

Senator Stewart and his associates have, indeed, led many thousands of good and sensible citizens, some of them men of eminent ability and high culture, to believe that prosperity cannot be secured without free coinage of silver; this is not strange; many intelligent and conscientious jurors, though hearing both sides of a case and sworn to impartiality, are misled by the special pleadings of attorneys, and learned and honorable judges are sometimes deceived by interested witnesses. It is always safe to rely upon the honesty, judgment, and patriotism of the American people when they understand the question to be voted upon, and if sound money men will furnish each voter enough information to enable him to form an intelligent opinion upon the subject, there can be no doubt regarding the verdict they will render in November—the case of the silver mine owners against the people of the United States will be hopelessly lost.

**END OF
TITLE**